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Medical Relief of Soviet Rus

by

Magnes, J.L.

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[In publishing this address, it has seemed well to append copies of the correspondence upon which it is based. Attention is called to the resumé contained in the letters to Mr. Hoover on page 22 and to the Department of State on page 30. No answers have been received to any of these questions as this address goes to press on January 26, 1921.]

Medical Relief for Soviet Russia

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT

Metropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia

JANUARY 18, 1921

by

J. L. MAGNES

We appeal tonight for funds to send medical relief to Soviet Russia.

Many relief organizations are appealing to the generosity of the American people to bring relief to the stricken peoples of Europe and Asia. But I regret to say that this meeting tonight may be the only one in this broad and opulent land where voices are being raised publicly in behalf of the sick and the suffering of Soviet Russia.

Why should this be? It is not because the wellsprings of mercy and compassion within the American people have run dry. What humane cause has ever appealed to the heart and the mind of the American people without getting a response in abounding measure? The suffering of the millions within Soviet Russia has not brought the usual response from America because, unfortunately, everything has been done to keep the facts from reaching the heart and the mind of the American people. Anti-Russian propaganda, has been carried on by Departments of Government, by the press, by preachers, lawyers, and teachers; and it is no wonder that the American people has come to believe that withholding relief from Soviet Russia is one of the great democratic virtues.

A large part of the responsibility for the hostility or indifference of the American people to suffering in Soviet Russia is, I am sorry to say, to be borne by the two greatest of American relief organizations, the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration. I realize, of course, that these two organizations have a quasi-governmental character, and that they are, in large measure,

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dependent upon the weird, blundering policy of our State Department in relation to Soviet Russia. I am sure, too, that many of the leaders within these organizations must have bemoaned their impotence more than once. Nevertheless, on the record as it stands, we find that these two mighty and noble institutions simply hardened their hearts towards the innocent and suffering millions of the great Communist Republic. They are recorded as having brought aid and comfort to every enemy of Soviet Russia from first to last, from Kolchak all the way through Wrangel. They were all ready with their barges of food and clothing and medicines to bring the message of brotherhood and compassion from America to the population of Russia, provided—provided the adventurer Judenich, with his hangman Balakowich, and the mercenaries of a dozen nationalities should capture Petrograd on the scheduled day. The valor of Red Petrograd disturbed the Entente schedule, and the message of humanity and compassion from America is still undelivered. Instead of bringing supplies to assuage the misery of suffering Russia, there is an authentic record, made by a member of the Kerenski Cabinet and of the Wrangel Cabinet, of which I hold a copy, that large portions of the food supplies of an American relief organization were sold speculatively by the Judenich authorities at six times the legal Esthonian rate, and that the proceeds from these sales of American relief supplies were used not for relief, but for the political and military benefit of the bankrupt Judenich Northwestern Government.

I am not to be understood, of course, as saying that these two great and humane American organizations would countenance willingly such a misapplication of American relief supplies. I am pointing to it merely to show that in difficult and troublous times such as war brings with it, the relief organizations were prepared to endure, and justly so, much loss and misapplication of their supplies, knowing that only thus would they have a chance of bringing in the relief which they knew the innocent common people were so much in need of. Yet, when it comes to the relief of Soviet Russia, all kinds of scruples crop up. Surely, the Soviet authorities are at least as responsible, politically and financially, as the motley group of Judenich's administrators and soldiers, at whose heels American relief supplies were to be poured with true American generosity into suffering Russia. Granting all the political difficulties placed in the way of these organizations by a confused State Department; granting all of the opprobrium that might have attached to these institutions among an influential section of American

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public opinion all too well fed-up on anti-Bolshevik propaganda; granting all of the impediments that might have been placed in their way by the Soviet authorities, is it not something for Americans to think over, that these two organizations—the American Red Cross, whose inspiring motto before the war used to be "Humanity and Neutrality," and which throughout the war brought comfort and healing to tens of thousands, and the American Relief Administration, which has saved humanity from starvation on a greater scale than at any time in recorded history since Joseph in Egypt, and not the least of whose merits was the braving of public opinion in appealing for the relief of the children of our former enemies, Germany and Austria—that these two mighty organizations should not have been able to make their influence felt in behalf of the suffering millions of Russia, that they should never have asked the American people to lift the cup of compassion to the lips of bleeding Russia?

Nay, more. The saddest part of it is, they have never tried to find out if there might not be a way to bring relief to Soviet Russia. Yet, the head of one of these organizations has but recently said:

> "I do not believe that there is any place in the world where the suffering of children is greater than in Bolshevik Russia."

It is because these organizations have not even tried to find a way of bringing relief to Soviet Russia that the American people has not answered the cry for help, and it is for this reason that a meeting like ours tonight takes on added importance. We must, in the first place, contribute of our funds as largely as we can for the purchase of medical supplies to be sent from this country to Russia. But we must do more than that. We must endeavor to reason with the American people and with the State Department and with the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration, in the hope that, with the calming of war passions, and with more information on the subject, we may no longer be remiss in our duty to the great, the struggling Russian people.

In preparing for this meeting, I took the liberty of communicating with the State Department, the American Relief Administration, or European Relief Council, of which Mr. Hoover is chairman, the American Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Soviet envoy to the United States, Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens. What I say is based upon statements contained in these written communications. I repeat, therefore, that, with the excep-

tion of the American Friends Service Committee and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, no sincere attempt has been made to find a way of bringing relief to Soviet Russia.

This statement may appear strange to you in view of a statement published on January 14, just four days ago, from Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State, on American policy towards Soviet Russia. Despite its many contradictions, this statement was, on the whole, the most hopeful we have yet had of the opening up of communications between this country and Soviet Russia.

In this statement, Mr. Davis declared that large-scale relief work in Soviet Russia had not been undertaken by American organizations because of difficulties raised, not by the Government of the United States, but by the Soviets. "Representatives of the large relief organizations, with the knowledge and approval of the Department of State," he continued, "have visited the central Soviet authorities in Moscow in the hope of establishing a *modus vivendi* for such work, but with two exceptions have been met by rebuffs." The two exceptions, he specifies later in his letter, as the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). Other relief organizations, however—meaning the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration—have experienced only rebuffs from the Soviets, so he declares; and he concludes, therefore, that "the official obstruction to the feeding of sick Russian children by Americans has come not from this Government, but from the Soviets." In other words, Mr. Davis bases the hostile policy of the State Department towards relief in Soviet Russia upon alleged rebuffs to the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration.

What have been the actual experiences of these relief organizations in relation to Soviet Russia?

I have not first-hand material on the recent experiences of the American Red Cross, although damaging public statements have been made, and as far as I am aware, never contradicted, concerning the function and the status of the gentleman who entered Soviet Russia presumably on behalf of the American Red Cross.

As to the experiences of the American Relief Administration, however, I can assert the following: First, the American Relief Administration has never sought assurances from the Soviet Government, and has never sought to find out the terms under which relief work in Soviet Russia might have been carried on. Second, two representatives of the American Relief Administration, whose names are a matter of common knowledge, and who happened to

cross the lines into Soviet Russia last spring, have presented the most favorable reports and recommendations for relief work in Russia to the American Relief Administration. In view of this, how can the Acting Secretary of State speak of Soviet rebuffs to this American organization?

But whereas on the one hand, the State Department bases its policy upon the alleged experiences of the American Relief Administration, which that organization never had, the American Relief Administration, in its turn, places full responsibility for failure to do relief work in Russia upon the State Department. The American Relief Administration declared but a few day ago that

> "It is not so much a question of assurances between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration as it is the necessity of having our own State Department satisfied that such assurances as we might be able to secure would be satisfactory, and they would be satisfied that we would be protected in using contributions from American citizens in undertaking this work. We would suggest that, as we look to the State Department for approval of any plans for entering any comprehensive arrangement for child feeding in Soviet Russia, you secure their opinion for use in your address in Philadelphia."

We thus see that the American Relief Administration shifts the responsibility to the State Department, and the State Department shifts it to the American Relief Administration. It is the familiar and delightful indoor sport of "passing the buck." Between the two, hundreds of thousands of innocent children in Soviet Russia are deprived of the assistance which the generosity of the American public might bring them.

It may be interesting to add that before the American Relief Administration was ready to admit on January 12, that it was not a question of assurances from the Soviet Government, but that it was all "up to" the State Department, they declared on January 8 that

> "As to Soviet Russia, we have refrained from entering into this field until we could secure satisfactory assurances which would protect our workers and our supplies and give us the necessary freedom in distributing to the children, without discrimination as to politics, race, or religion. Such assurances have not been forthcoming."

On January 8 it was a question of Soviet assurances; and on January 12, it was not. In the middle of November, the Associate Editor of the Newspaper Enterprise Association of Cleveland, Ohio, was informed by an official of the American Relief Administration that

> "We have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia."

Would not a more exact statement have been:

> We have not asked the Soviet Government to be allowed to go into Soviet Russia?

And in view of all of this, the "Literary Digest," which has devoted itself high-mindedly and whole-heartedly to the cause of European relief, as the publicity organ of the American Relief Administration, declared to a correspondent at the end of December, that

> "It is a mistake to say that the children of Russia are 'excluded' from the benefits of the American Relief Administration and the European Relief Council. . . . The Quakers are in Soviet Russia carrying organized relief to Russian children and receive their financial support from Mr. Hoover's organization."

Upon inquiry, I find that the American Friends Service Committee (the Quakers) receive no financial support whatever for Soviet Russia from Mr. Hoover's organization.

We find, therefore, that the policy of the State Department of our Government in relation to relief to Soviet Russia is based upon alleged rebuffs to an organization which that organization never met with. Some of the representatives of that organization declare that they are doing work in Soviet Russia through the Quakers, although this is not so. Others declare that they have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia, although we do not know that they have ever asked for permission. Still other representatives complain that assurances have not been forthcoming from the Soviet Government for the proper distribution of their supplies, although such assurances were never sought; and when this is pointed out, the admission is finally made that it is not these assurances, which they have never sought, that matter, but that the State Department is to be held responsible.

Is it not of such confusion that the entire American policy towards Russia from the beginning of the Russian Revolution has been built up?

We appeal to the State Department and the American Relief Administration to get together and subject all the facts in the case to a thorough revision. Relief for Soviet Russia is of too grave importance to be permitted to fall between these two stools.

There is, furthermore, some reason to feel that the American Relief Administration and the American Red Cross may not be entirely hopeless. In a communication of January 14, Mr. Hoover asserts that he will not ask for American help for Soviet Russia until the distribution of American supplies can be supervised there

"upon the same terms as everywhere else in the world"; and furthermore, that his organization "will not jeopardize Americans by establishing them in Russia so long as Americans are held prisoners there without cause." Mr. Hoover has therefore now been asked to state the terms upon which his organization would be willing to engage upon relief work in Soviet Russia; and, should he do so, it would be the first time, so far as I am aware, that these terms will have been made known. If these terms are reasonable and are not an interference with the sovereignty of the Soviet Government, we have the assurance of Mr. Martens, who said on November 18:

> "If the American Relief Administration desires to use the funds which it is now collecting, or the stocks which it has on hand, for the relief of starving children in Soviet Russia, it may easily do so. There is nothing to prevent the Relief Administration from shipping supplies directly to Soviet Russia. These supplies will be gladly received and fairly distributed by the Soviet Government. If the American Relief Administration desires to inspect the manner of distribution of these supplies, or to coöperate in their distribution, I am sure that this could be arranged.

This statement by Mr. Martens is based not only upon what he knows of the spirit and intentions of the Soviet Government, but also upon the past experiences of American relief organizations which, so far from meeting rebuffs, have always enjoyed the utmost coöperation of the Soviet authorities.

I would refer, first, to the experiences of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia in the distribution of 400,000 cans of condensed milk in the city of Petrograd during the months of February, March, and April, 1918. The Distributing Committee which was then organized jointly by the American Red Cross Mission on the one hand, and by the District Soviets of Petrograd, the Central Petrograd Soviet, and the Commissariat of Social Welfare, functioned in accordance with approved American social service methods, and gave complete satisfaction not only to the population of Petrograd and the Soviet authorities, but also to the American Red Cross. All of this is recorded in reports submitted to the American Red Cross by Col. Raymond Robbins, who was at the head of the Red Cross Mission, and by Major Allen Wardwell, who was at its head after Col. Robbins' departure. Mr. R. R. Stevens, the Manager of the National City Bank in Petrograd, was in charge of this work during Major Wardwell's absence from Petrograd. On each can of milk, over the signature and under the symbol of the American Red Cross was printed the following legend:

THIS CAN OF MILK

IS A

GIFT FROM THE AMERICAN RED CROSS
TO THE SICK AND TO THE CHILDREN OF PETROGRAD

NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO SELL
OR
TO USE THE MILK CONTAINED IN THIS CAN
FOR ANY OTHER PURPOSE EXCEPT ITS USE
FREE OF CHARGE
BY THE CHILDREN AND THE SICK FOR WHOM IT IS INTENDED

AMERICAN RED CROSS
EUROPE HOTEL, FOURTH FLOOR

I hold in my hand, so that you may see, a photographic facsimile of this legend on one of these cans. The Americans who had this work in hand have declared that none of this milk was misapplied or used for any purpose other than that of giving nourishment and sustenance to the helpless and the weak.

I refer next to the experiences of the two representatives of the American Relief Administration who happened to cross into Soviet Russia last Spring. As I have already said, they did not meet with rebuffs. On the contrary, they portrayed the situation in such colors as might satisfy all the scruples of the American Relief Administration, and as might have been expected to impose upon them the obligation of bringing relief to Soviet Russia.

I refer also to the experiences of the American Friends Service Committee, with its headquarters here in Philadelphia. As the Acting Secretary of State points out, this organization "has been operating almost continuously in Russia on a small scale under British management." Inquiry of the American Friends Service Committee will show that their relief supplies, now their third shipment, have reached Russia safely and have been distributed satisfactorily, and that the Friends have met with no rebuffs, but have had the utmost coöperation from the Soviet authorities. Their workers have been given every opportunity to visit institutions and homes, to direct that supplies be shipped to these particular homes, and to visit these homes afterwards.

I refer finally to the experiences of the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. This Committee has not met with rebuffs, but has been able to effect an arrangement with the Soviet authorities

whereby a relief committee was formed in Moscow of all elements of the Jewish population, including the bourgeois, for the purpose of bringing relief to the tens of thousands of victims of barbarous pogroms perpetrated under the banners of those counter-revolutionary armies which the American Red Cross and the American Relief Administration have not scrupled to support.

What, in view of these experiences, becomes of the charge, upon which the State Department policy is based, that American relief organizations have experienced rebuffs at the hands of Soviet Russia? On the contrary, we see that if there be but the will, there is the way; and this, in face of the statement by the Acting Secretary of State, that the Soviets' theory of Communism will not permit the exercise of private philanthropy. Yes, if the blockade were lifted in fact as well as in name, Russia would need no private philanthropy. Russia has enough gold and materials and human power to pay for the satisfaction of all her needs. But as long as the inhuman *cordon sanitaire* is stretched around Russia by America and the Entente Powers, it becomes the duty and the privilege of every American to do whatever he can to bring the aid of private philanthropy to the innocents without food, without clothes, without medical and surgical help. Nothing stands in the way, except a lack of understanding and good will.

Further encouragement for keeping up our work and appealing to the better conscience of the present opponents of relief for Soviet Russia is to be found in a very recent statement by Mr. Hoover—something that was entirely new to me and which I have endeavored to have confirmed at the State Department, thus far without result—that the State Department has established the fact

> "that so far as the United States is concerned, nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children."

This, if correct, will, I have no doubt, be good news to Soviet Russia, which is in fact in need of milk for her children. In the sincere hope of being contradicted tomorrow, I would nevertheless hazard the guess that even for so humane a purpose as buying milk for rickety children, Bolshevik gold is still taboo for the present Administration in Washington. They have ordered the Assay Office of the United States Mint to refuse to assay any gold having even remotely a Russian Soviet origin. American smelters have been threatened, so I am informed, with a withdrawal of their usual assay privileges, should they ever be caught offering for assay this

terrible Soviet gold. Banking institutions have refrained from paying out Russian gold under threats from the Federal Reserve Board which, because of present business depression, can exercise its terror at will. Producers and merchants of all kinds, large and small, who have been desirous of exporting goods and supplies to Russia, have been given conflicting opinions and advice at Washington, ranging all the way from a complete shifting of responsibility to definite threats and warnings. This is all on the theory that Soviet gold is dirty and may not be handled, and the rest of the gold of the world is clean and may not only be handled, but grabbed after. The gold found in Russia by the Soviet Revolution is stolen property and not to be touched, but the gold being expended by the so-called Russian Ambassador at Washington through the so-called Embassy of a non-existent Russian Government is vouched for by our State Department. Sir Robert Horne, however, of the present British Cabinet, who is endeavoring to negotiate a trade treaty with Soviet Russia, unblushingly and publicly counts up the amount of Soviet gold available for British trade purposes, and seems not to be so solicitous of the sensibilities of the French money changers and the dispossessed Russian emigrés as is our own State Department. This virtual maintenance of the blockade of Russia, despite all pious phrases to the contrary, through the prohibition of the conversion of Russian gold into usable American currency, is, I am afraid, in the way of Mr. Hoover's hopeful reading of what he thinks is the State Department's permission to sell American milk for Russian children in return for Bolshevik gold. It may well be, however, that Mr. Hoover's optimism is justified, for in this mass and welter of inconsistencies and a lack of a definite policy, everything is possible—even a touch of humanity.

Meanwhile, the Biblical adage holds good: Put not your trust in princes. The great and the mighty may, or they may not, be moved by simple considerations of humanity. Certainly, scepticism is not unjustified when an organization like the American Red Cross will write on so immediate and moving a question as Russian relief this hypothetical sentence:

> "Whenever the situation may be such as to change this point of view, the Red Cross will hope to be able to act to whatever extent may be consistent with available resources."

You see, as far as Soviet Russia is concerned, the Red Cross still deals in "whenever," "may be," and "it will hope to be able" and "to whatever extent" and "may be consistent" and "available."

May we not hope that this will not be for all too long?

With confusion, therefore, in the State Department, with ambiguities on the part of the American Relief Administration, with hypotheticalities, if there be such a word, from the American Red Cross, and with ill-will all around towards Soviet Russia and her Bolshevik children, let us simpler and less important individuals and organizations get to work hard and do what we can in our own smaller way to satisfy our human sympathies and bring health to our suffering Russian brothers and sisters. Let us, through our contributions tonight, aid the Society for Medical Relief in Soviet Russia to send to that stricken land medicine and drugs and bandages and rubber gloves and surgeons' tools and soap and changes of linen and other hospital supplies, so that the sick man on his couch of pain, even though he be a Communist, may find relief, so that the suffering woman in the pangs of childbirth or of death, even though she be the wife of a bourgeois counter-revolutionary, may be spared something of agony and of terror, so that all the children may have a chance to grow up straight and uncrippled and clean of body and of mind. Mr. Hoover believes that there is no place in the world where the suffering of children is greater than in Bolshevik Russia, and yet his organization does nothing to help them. We here happen to know that there is no place in the world where suffering children are shown greater love and devotion than in Bolshevik Russia, yet they are still in need of everything we can do to help them. For one thing, we should all of us, without distinction of religion or nationality or politics, support that truly Christian band of workers who call themselves the American Friends Service Committee. They, the Quakers, and they alone of all the religious communities of America, preserved their sweetness of spirit during the war and were ready to bring comfort and healing to all sufferers, to friend and foe alike. It is they who, with the help of Mr. Hoover's organization, are now carrying the burden, and are rejoicing in the doing of a relief work which is a godsend to the stricken lands of Germany and Austria. It is they who, through their English and American branches, have laughed to scorn the prevalent fears of going into Russia, and who are carrying the message of comfort and of healing, of international solidarity and of peace. If it be only fear for the safety of the American relief workers that keeps the American Relief Administration or the American Red Cross back from Russia, I know that they need but turn to the Society of Friends and there will be no lack of competent and brave spirits, eager to

make the sacrifice and do the work. And if I may address a word to the American Friends Service Committee, it would be to urge them to take the lead yet again and bring about coördinated action on a large scale in behalf of American relief for Soviet Russia.

Whatever medical supplies are contributed by the meeting tonight will be sent direct to the Commissariat for Public Health in Moscow. This department of the Soviet Government was created by decree in July, 1918, with full control of all medical and sanitation work. Since that time it has been engaged upon as valiant a combat with sickness, disease, and plague as the world has ever seen.

The enemies of Soviet Russia thought to break down her resistance by denying her people the aid of medicines and drugs and hospital supplies from abroad. Let the Soviets be destroyed even though the Russian people be ravaged by disease and plague; and they believed, in their shortsightedness, that their *cordon sanitaire*, their cordon of death, could keep behind the Russian barrier not only Russian revolutionary ideas, but disease and plague as well. But, despite the fatuous readiness of Russia's enemies to have Russia's plagues and epidemics spread over into the Western world if only Russia's revolutionary ideas might be crushed, it is due to the heroic efforts of the Russian people themselves under the guidance of the Commissariat for Public Health that not only the Russian people, but the Western world as well have been spared the infection that might just as well have come out of Russia if it had depended solely upon the barbarism and inhumanity of Russia's enemies.

There is in this country a copy of the official Soviet Calendar for 1920, and in this Calendar among other things is an official statement of the Commissariat for Public Health on its organization and activities up to the fall of 1919. I am hoping that the complete statement, which is but a dry recital of facts, may soon be published, in order that in this way the American public may be encouraged to support the vast public health work which is now going on in Russia despite the blockade, despite the lack of medicines and hospital supplies.

From of old, as many of you here know all too well, the death rate of Russia has been much in excess of that of the rest of Europe. At the outbreak of the war in 1914, the death rate of Russia was 26.7 per thousand, and in the rest of Europe 14 per thousand. There was a record at that time of over 14,500,000 cases of conta-

gious diseases, and of over 7,000,000 cases of what are classified as parasitic diseases. In addition to these general categories, the record shows over 1,000,000 cases of syphilis and over 700,000 of tuberculosis. Altogether, the health figures of Russia at the beginning of the war present a stupendous picture of misery, filth and disease.

It was only with the coming of the Soviet revolution in October of 1917 that energetic and intelligent steps were taken to save the Russian people from disintegration through sickness, disease, and plague. During the period of the Russian war from 1914 up to the time of the Bolshevik revolution, typhus and smallpox and cholera and influenza had assumed alarming proportions. For example, in 1916, although large parts of the Russian territories, particularly those inhabited by congested industrial populations, were held by the Germans, there were recorded, in the shrunken Russia alone, over 150,000 cases of typhus, and over 100,000 cases of smallpox, and over 1,200 cases of cholera, this being the beginning of the cholera epidemic that broke out in the summer of 1918 just as the Commissariat for Public Health was being established.

It was combatting this cholera epidemic in the summer of 1918 that gave the first proof of the efficiency of the Commissariat for Public Health and of the devotion of the thousands of health workers who were enlisted in the service of the people. During the cholera epidemic in 1908, ten years before under the Czarist regime, when the whole world was anxious to keep this epidemic localized and when Russia had access to all the world's sources of supplies, 200,000 cases of cholera were recorded. In the epidemic of the summer of 1918, despite the difficult circumstances under which the Commissariat had to labor, with war within and without Russia, the number of cholera cases was kept down to 35,619.

In the fall of 1918, the country was ravaged by the Spanish influenza, 700,000 cases of this sickness being recorded.

From the fall of 1918 to the spring of 1919, during eight months, the Commissariat for Public Health had to combat an additional epidemic, that of eruptive typhus; and the story of this forms in itself a great object-lesson of what intelligence and self-sacrifice and devotion to a great idea can achieve. During these eight months there was recorded the stupendous number of 1,299,262 cases of eruptive typhus. I am informed that medical records contain no parallel to this. An outline of the steps taken to combat typhus will give an indication of the general methods of the Commissariat for Public Health:

1. 200,000,000 Roubles were appropriated for educating the public as to the nature and causes of this sickness, and as to methods of prevention.
2. Thousands of beds were added to hospitals for the treatment of typhus cases alone. In the city of Moscow, 9,000 such additional beds were established.
3. Baths, laundries, and delousing plants were established throughout the whole country, and the use of them was made compulsory upon the population. All of this service was free of charge.
4. Special commissions with large powers were created, the membership of which was recruited from workmen's organizations throughout the country.
5. Special laboratories for research work on new cures were established.
6. Special commissions with great sums of money at their disposal were created for experimentation with new vaccines. Among these vaccine centres were Moscow, Petrograd, Saratov, Kharkov, Smolensk.
7. Two congresses of scientists were convened in Moscow in February and in March, 1919, to discuss the scientific material gathered in the course of combatting the disease. The Commissariat also convened an All-Russian Congress of bacteriologists and specialists in epidemic diseases at the end of April, 1919. At this Congress, Prof. Predtschenski presented the chief report on the epidemic and its causes, stating at the same tine that an approximate solution of the problem had been found, and that the specific typhus parasite had been definitely established. (It may also be of interest to remark that the same Prof. Predtschenski headed an expedition later to Astrakhan for the purpose of studying cholera at one of its sources.)

The net result of this vigorous and heroic campaign against typhus has been that the Russian people, though still suffering grievously, has been saved from being stricken down by this plague, and as far as the rest of the world is concerned Russia, at least, will not be the chief source of typhus infection.

As for the rest of the activities of the Commissariat for Public Health, I can but mention in passing that they have attacked with similar energy problems of sanitation and hygiene, as also social diseases such as tuberculosis and venereal infections. The Commissariat has established a central hygienic museum in Moscow. It has distributed millions of copies of popular pamphlets on questions of health, and has issued scientific works and periodicals. It has created in Moscow, in a building devoted solely to this purpose, a central medical library, and it has convened congresses and conferences not only in Moscow and other large cities, but also in smaller towns and country districts, dealing with all phases of medical and health work. The Commissariat itself is housed in a building of its own, and its administration is divided into eleven general departments.

It is to this Commissariat that the medical supplies that I hope we shall provide tonight will be sent. All of the medical supplies of Russia were taken over by the Commissariat in March, 1919, the Government appropriating 1,300,000,000 Roubles for this purpose. The medical supplies which are sent from this country are such as have been asked for by the Commissariat for Public Health in order to supply their own deficiencies. What humane person, I ask, can withhold his hand for a single instant from such a work?

Holy Russia! What memories of black terror, what echoes of religious inquisition and pogroms this phrase conjures up! What a change has come! Now it is you and I and all the young, hopeful world who, in all sincerity, can repeat the words, Sacred, Holy Russia! Whatever her faults and blunders, her soil has been sanctified to us by the tears and blood of her suffering millions, and she is endeared and made precious to us the more completely because of the wickedness, the injustice and hypocrisy which keep her in agony and in pain.

We send our greetings to the Russian people tonight. We bid them be strong and of good courage. We would have them look upon the meagre supplies we send them not only as balm for their wounds and healing for their bodies, but as messengers of brotherhood and of peace, as harbingers of our undying hopes for the new world that is sure to come.

APPENDIX I

COPIES OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

[1]

114 Fifth Avenue

New York, January 5, 1921.

Dear Sir:

I am expecting to address a meeting at the Philadelphia Opera House on Tuesday evening, January 18, in behalf of medical relief in Soviet Russia.

In thinking over my address, it seemed to me important that I inquire of you as to the attitude of your organization towards medical relief in Soviet Russia. Conflicting statements about this have been made by an official of your organization on the one hand, and by the "Literary Digest" on the other.*

I know that you must have given much consideration to the grave question of relief, particularly relief through medicines and supplies, for Soviet Russia, and I am wondering if the time has not come when your organization might be willing to engage upon this greatly needed work. I am exceedingly anxious to say nothing that will in any way embarrass your work. Would it be asking too much to let me have a statement as to the attitude of your organization towards the relief of children in Soviet Russia, so that I might bring what I sincerely hope will be an encouraging word to the meeting in Philadelphia on January 18th.

Thanking you for the courtesy of a reply, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Herbert C. Hoover,
European Children's Relief Council,
115 Broadway, New York City.

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[2]

European Relief Council
Herbert Hoover, *Chairman*
42 Broadway
New York City

January 8, 1921.

Mr. J. L. Magnes,
114 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Magnes:

Mr. Hoover has asked me to acknowledge your letter of January 5th.

You probably know that the European Relief Council has after most care-

* See pages 31 and 33.

ful deliberation decided to limit its appeal for funds in its operation to the children of Europe. The American Relief Administration is concerned with feeding and clothing of the children, while the Red Cross and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee will cooperate as far as the medical and health work is concerned.

As to Soviet Russia, we have refrained from entering into this field until we could secure satisfactory assurances which would protect our workers and our supplies, and give us the necesary freedom in distributing to the children without discrimination as to politics, race, or religion. Such assurances have not been forthcoming. However, our organization has authorized the feeding of Russian refugee children in Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Germany, and we have also instructed our representatives to investigate the refugee camps in Bulgaria and if a necessity exists there to extend our operations.

We are also jointly with the Red Cross assuming the care of the refugee children in the neighborhood of Constantinople and you are authorized to state that outside of the actual Soviet lines to the best of our information we are caring for all the problems of child feeding among the Russian refugee children.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) PERRIN C. GALPIN,
Acting Secretary to Mr. Hoover.

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[3]

114 FIFTH AVENUE
New York, January 11, 1921.

MR. PERRIN C. GALPIN,
Acting Secretary,
42 Broadway,
New York City.

DEAR MR. GALPIN:

I thank you for your kind letter of January 8, in response to mine of January 5.

You state that satisfactory assurances have not been forthcoming that your workers and supplies in Soviet Russia would be protected, and that your supplies would be distributed to the children without discrimination as to politics, race, or religion.

Would it be too much to ask when these assurances were sought, and what the nature of the answer to your inquiry was?

I am asking because I have in my possession a copy of a letter under date of November 18, 1920,* addressed by Mr. Martens, the Soviet Representative in America, to Mr. H. B. R. Briggs, Associate Editor of the Newspaper Enterprise Association of Cleveland, Ohio. In that letter Mr. Martens says:

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*See page 32.

"I do not know upon what occasion nor under what circumstances the American Relief Administration has ever applied to the Soviet Government for permission to send relief to Soviet Russia. If such application was made, I have never seen any published account of it, nor has the desire of the American Relief Administration to enter Soviet Russia ever been reported to me either by my Government or by the Relief Administration. . . .

"I have had unofficial information that two workers on the staff of the American Relief Administration visited Moscow within recent months. My information is that these workers were most cordially received and were favorably impressed by their reception. Whether they were empowered on behalf of the Relief Administration to conduct negotiations with a view to relief work in Soviet Russia I do not know.

"Knowing the desire of the Soviet Government to use every practical means for relieving the acute needs of the population, I cannot believe that a bona fide offer from the American Relief Administration to send relief to Soviet Russia would be met with anything but a cordial and sympathetic reception by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has already manifested its willingness to cooperate with foreign relief organizations, as in the case of the Joint Distribution Committee, and in the case of the American and English Friends Societies. The English Friends have had a representative, Mr. Arthur J. Watts, in Soviet Russia for several months, working with the full cooperation and encouragement of the Soviet authorities. A representative of the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia, Miss Anna J. Haines, is now on her way to Russia for the purpose of distributing relief. Miss Haines has received assurances both from myself and from the central authorities at Moscow that her work will be welcomed.

"In view of these circumstances, it is difficult to understand the statement of the American Relief Administration that they have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Russia. . . .

"If the American Relief Administration desires to use the funds which it is now collecting, or the stocks which it has on hand, for the relief of starving children in Soviet Russia it may easily do so. There is nothing to prevent the Relief Administration from shipping supplies direct to Soviet Russia. These supplies would be gladly received and fairly distributed by the Soviet Government. If the American Relief Administration desired to inspect the manner of distribution of these supplies or to coöperate in that distribution, I am sure that this could be arranged."

From this it would appear that satisfactory assurances may be obtained for the distribution of relief supplies to children in Soviet Russia.

I am sure that additional information in relation to satisfactory assurances can be secured.

Inasmuch as I am to address the meeting in Philadelphia on January 18, I should be grateful to you for an answer at your early convenience.

Thanking you, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

[4]

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION
HERBERT HOOVER, *Chairman*
42 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY

January 12, 1921.

MR. J. L. MAGNES,
114 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

MY DEAR MR. MAGNES:

Thanks for your letter of January 11th in which you quote at length the letter from Mr. Martens, Soviet Representative in America.

It is not so much a question of assurances between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration as it is the necessity of having our own State Department satisfied that such assurances as we might be able to secure would be satisfactory, and they would be satisfied that we would be protected in using contributions from American citizens in undertaking this work. We would suggest that as we look to the State Department for approval of any plans for entering any comprehensive arrangement for child feeding in Soviet Russia, that you secure their opinion for use in your address in Philadelphia.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) PERRIN C. GALPIN,
Acting Secretary to Mr. Hoover.

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[5]

114 FIFTH AVENUE
New York, January 14, 1921.

MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER, *Chairman*,
European Relief Council,
42 Broadway,
New York City.

DEAR SIR:

I have had correspondence with your acting secretary, Mr. Galpin, concerning relief for Soviet Russia. As a result of this correspondence, I wrote yesterday* to Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State (copy of this letter is enclosed).

In this letter I asked Mr. Davis if the State Department would permit your organization to bring relief to Soviet Russia, provided satisfactory assurances were forthcoming. I sent this inquiry at the suggestion made in Mr. Galpin's letter of January 12. From his letter it would appear that it is owing

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*See page 27.

to the policy of the State Department that your organization cannot bring relief to Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile, in this morning's "New York Times," there is printed a letter from Acting Secretary of State Davis to Mr. Alton B. Parker, President of the National Civic Federation, dated January 8.

He says that the Department of State has taken an intense and continual interest in the possibility of arranging for large scale relief work in Soviet Russia by strong and reputable organizations, but that difficulties have been raised, not by the Government of the United States, but by the Soviets. Representatives of the large relief organizations, he continues, have visited Soviet authorities in Moscow; but, with two exceptions, they have been met by rebuffs. These two organizations, he specifies later in his letter as the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

The conclusion, therefore, is, that your organization endeavored to establish a *modus vivendi* for large scale relief work, but was rebuffed.

May I ask is this correct? Mr. Galpin's letter of January 12 places full responsibility upon the State Department, and the State Department now places the responsibility upon your organization. Moreover, the Soviet Representative in America, Mr. Martens, declared in the letter which I quoted to Mr. Galpin that, as far as he is aware, your organization has never sought to establish this *modus vivendi*. Furthermore, it is common knowledge that two of your representatives visited Russia and brought back exceedingly favorable reports.

It would seem that there has been some slip-up between your organization and the State Department, seeing that each is anxious to have relief work done in Soviet Russia, and that each charges the other with responsibility for the failure to do this work.

Would you be good enough to let me know how these apparently contradictory statements can be reconciled? Furthermore, would it not be possible for your organization to arrange with the American Friends Service Committee to do for Soviet Russia what you and they together are so generously and nobly doing for the children of Germany and Austria? In accordance with Acting Secretary of State Davis, the American Friends Service Committee has been operating almost continuously in Russia. Inquiry from the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia will convince you that their relief supplies have reached Russia safely, that they have been stored securely, that they have been distributed satisfactorily, and that they have had the utmost cooperation from the Soviet authorities. Their workers have been given every opportunity, so I am informed, to visit institutions and homes, to direct that supplies be shipped to these particular homes, and to visit these homes afterwards.

Under these circumstances, has not the time come for laying aside all other considerations except those of our common humanity?

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Enclosures:

Letter to Acting Secretary of State, Jan. 13. (See p. 27)
Letter to Acting Secretary of State, Jan. 14. (See p. 27–28)

[6]

EUROPEAN RELIEF COUNCIL
HERBERT HOOVER, *Chairman*
42 Broadway
NEW YORK CITY

January 14, 1921.

MR. J. L. MAGNES,
114 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

DEAR MR. MAGNES:

My attention has been called to various correspondence that you have had with this office on the subject of relief for children in Russia. I do not believe that there is any place in the world where the suffering of children is greater than in Bolshevik Russia, due, in fact, to Bolshevism itself. Nevertheless, I would be glad indeed if you can solve this problem to the satisfaction of the American people.

So far as the present appeal of the European Relief Council is concerned, it is for the purpose of maintaining children already upon American responsibility, including 200,000 Russian children outside Bolshevik Russia. It is specifically not for the expansion of relief operations in other parts of Europe.

I would say generally, first, that I shall not ask the American people for charity toward Bolshevik Russia until complete American supervision can be established, upon the same terms as we act everywhere else in the world; second, that the organization I direct will not jeopardize Americans by establishing them in Russia so long as Americans are held prisoners without cause.

Notwithstanding all this, if there are Americans who wish to entrust their money in these present conditions, and if there are Americans who are willing to go into Russia, I have not the right nor desire to obstruct.

Finally, I would call your attention to the fact established by the State Department that so far as the United States is concerned nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children in preference to distributing it abroad to delude the world and create bloodshed.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) HERBERT HOOVER.

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[7]

114 FIFTH AVENUE
New York, January 17, 1921.

DEAR MR. HOOVER:

I thank you for your letter of January 14th concerning relief to Soviet Russia.

Your statement that the State Department does not prevent the Soviet Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for

their children was new to me, and I am wiring the State Department asking them to confirm this.

Could you let me know the precise terms in accordance with which you would be ready to carry on relief work in Soviet Russia?

Could you let me know the names of the Americans held as prisoners in Russia without cause? It may be that if, in fact, they are held without cause, efforts to have them released will not be in vain.

Finally, is it too much to ask you to let me know if and when you have made efforts to secure the consent of the Soviet Government to the terms upon which you would be ready to do relief work in Russia; and also if and when endeavors have been made to secure the release of those Americans who are held prisoners in Russia without cause?

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Herbert Hoover,
European Relief Council,
42 Broadway,
New York City.

[Sent after Philadelphia meeting]

[8]

114 Fifth Avenue
New York, January 21, 1921.

Mr. Herbert Hoover,
European Relief Council,
42 Broadway, New York.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter of January 20, 1921,* which I have just received from Mr. Norman H. Davis, Acting Secretary of State.

I regret that you should have permitted the State Department to infer that any one wished you to carry on negotiations with the Department in any way except directly. I urged that your organization and the State Department "get together and subject the facts to a thorough revision."

I am still without answers to the following questions:

1. Would it be possible for you to announce the precise terms in accordance with which your organization would be ready to carry on relief work in Soviet Russia?
2. Could you publish the names of the Americans held as prisoners in Russia without cause, to the end that all of us together may make efforts to have them released?

Thus far I have had no reply from the State Department in answer to my request for a confirmation of your statement that "so far as the United States is concerned nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children."

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*See page 29.

I wish to assure you—what I thought was hardly necessary—that the sole purpose of my correspondence is to do what little I can to bring some relief to the suffering Russian people without regard to race, religion, nationality, or political opinion.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

APPENDIX II

COPIES OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH AMERICAN RED CROSS

[1]

114 Fifth Avenue
New York, January 5, 1921.

Dear Dr. Farrand:

I am expecting to deliver an address at the Philadelphia Opera House on Tuesday evening, January 18, in behalf of medical relief for Soviet Russia.

In preparing my address, it seems to me important to turn to the American Red Cross with the inquiry concerning its attitude towards medical relief in Soviet Russia. I know that your organization has had this question under advisement for a long time past, and I am hopeful that perhaps the time has now come when the American Red Cross sees its way clear to bringing to the population of Soviet Russia some of the medical relief undoubtedly needed there. I should be very happy to bring so heartening and encouraging a message to this meeting in Philadelphia.

Thanking you for the courtesy of a reply, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Dr. Livingston Farrand,
American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

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[2]

The American Red Cross
National Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

January 6, 1921.

My dear Doctor Magnes:

I have your letter of January 5th, with its inquiry as to the attitude of the American Red Cross to medical relief in Soviet Russia.

For many months, we have been watching the situation in Russia with a view to possible action, should conditions warrant. The Red Cross is not concerned with political conditions, as such, but must always determine its activities according to its best judgment as to the practicability of effective service. Practicability is only to be determined in the light of all considerations and up to this time the opinion of our representatives in Europe in the best position to judge has been, that the conditions in Soviet Russia were not such as to insure independent and effective action, according to Red Cross standards. Whenever the situation may be such as to change this point of view, the Red Cross will hope to be able to act to whatever extent may be consistent with available resources.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) LIVINGSTON FARRAND.
Chairman, Central Committee.

DR. J. L. MAGNES,
114 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

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[3]

114 FIFTH AVENUE
New York, January 13, 1921.

DEAR DR. FARRAND:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of January 6 in answer to mine of January 5 inquiring as to the attitude of the American Red Cross to medical relief in Soviet Russia. I made a similar inquiry of Mr. Hoover's organization. At first* I was informed that they had refrained from entering Soviet Russia until they "could secure satisfactory assurances which would protect our workers and our supplies, and give us the necessary freedom in distributing to the children without discrimination as to politics, race or religion. Such assurances have not been forthcoming." After further correspondence, I have just been informed that† "it is not so much a question of assurances between the Soviet Government and the American Relief Administration as it is the necessity of having our own State Department satisfied that such assurances as we might be able to secure would be satisfactory."

As far as I am able to interpret this latter statement, it means that the American Relief Administration does not enter Russia because of political conditions.

As to the Red Cross, however, you say it "is not concerned with political conditions as such," and that the opinion of your representatives in Europe has been "that the conditions in Soviet Russia were not such as to insure independent and effective action according to Red Cross standards."

Would it be possible for you to inform me upon what considerations this opinion of your European representatives is based; and, further, what, in the opinion of the Red Cross, would have to be done so as to insure independent and effective action according to Red Cross standards?

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* See page 17.
† " " 19.

If you could let me have this information before Tuesday, January 18, when I am to deliver an address at the Philadelphia Opera House on medical relief to Soviet Russia, I should be grateful to you.

Very truly yours.

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Dr. Livingston Farrand,
Chairman, Central Committee,
American Red Cross,
Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX III

COPIES OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

[1]

114 Fifth Avenue
New York, January 11, 1921.

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I am corresponding with the Hoover organization concerning relief in Soviet Russia.

They contend that they cannot get satisfactory assurances that their workers and supplies will be protected and that these supplies will be distributed to children without regard to religion, race, or politics.

I am assured here that satisfactory assurances, if asked for by the Hoover organization, could and would be given.

Would you mind letting me know what the experience of your organization and that of the English Friends has been? Have you had satisfactory assurances, and is your work being carried on in Soviet Russia satisfactorily to yourselves?

My correspondence with the Hoover organization arose out of the fact that I am to address a meeting for medical relief in Soviet Russia in Philadelphia on the evening of January 18.

Thanking you for letting me have this information, and with regards, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Wilbur K. Thomas,
Executive Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee,
20 S. 12th Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

[2]

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

Philadelphia, January 12, 1921.

Dr. J. L. Magnes,
114 Fifth Ave.,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Magnes:

I do not know what the attitude of Mr. Hoover's organization is toward relief work in Russia, but I know that at the present time they are doing nothing in Russia except in Eastern Poland.

We have made our third shipment of relief supplies to Russia and they have been distributed satisfactorily. A report from our two representatives received this morning, dated December 16 at Hotel Savoy, Moscow, states that they have selected a warehouse which belongs to the Co-operative Society (Centrosous), where our supplies will be stored. The Centrosous has, as you probably know, been nationalized and is now the distributing agent for the Commissariat for Supplies. By working in conjunction with them we shall be free to distribute to institutions belonging to various Commissariats, though in the first instance we propose to confine our help to the Department for Protection of Children's Health or to Institutions recommended by their medical inspectors.

So far our relationships have been most satisfactory, for our workers have been given every opportunity to visit Institutions and Homes, direct that supplies be shipped to those particular Homes, and visit the Homes afterwards. We feel that they have been very kind and fair to us and are glad to cooperate with them in any way that we can.

We are getting some material now direct from Russia, but as it is not copied we cannot let it go out of the office very well. If you are coming over here on the 18th I hope that you may be able to come into the office some time during the day and look over some of the things we have.

I would also like to state that we are now soliciting money for our next shipment to Russia, and we hope that our facilities can be used by other organizations who are interested in getting relief into Russia.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Wilbur K. Thomas,
Executive Secretary.

APPENDIX IV

COPIES OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH STATE DEPARTMENT

[1]

114 Fifth Avenue
New York January 13, 1921.

Sir:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of correspondence which I have had with the American Relief Administration concerning relief for the children within Soviet Russia.

You will observe from the correspondence that I sought information from the European Relief Council in view of an address I am to deliver at the Philadelphia Opera House on Tuesday evening, January 18, in behalf of medical relief for Soviet Russia.

In the letter of January 8,* Mr. Hoover's secretary declares that "satisfactory assurances which would protect our workers and our supplies and give us the necessary freedom in distributing to the children without discrimination as to politics, race, or religion . . . have not been forthcoming."

In my reply of January 11,† I quote from a letter to Mr. H. B. R. Briggs, Associate Editor, Newspaper Enterprise Association of Cleveland, from Mr. Martens, Soviet Representative in America, casting doubt upon the inference that the American Relief Administration ever sought such assurances. In his reply of January 12,‡ Mr. Hoover's secretary practically admits that such assurances have not been sought by his organization, and he suggests that as his organization looks "to the State Department for approval of any plans for entering any comprehensive arrangement for child feeding in Soviet Russia" I secure your opinion for use in my address in Philadelphia.

Would it be possible for you to inform me before Tuesday, January 18, if the State Department would permit the American Relief Administration to bring relief to Soviet Russia provided satisfactory assurances, which would protect American workers and supplies, and which would give them the necessary freedom in distributing to the children without discrimination as to politics, race, or religion, were forthcoming.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Norman H. Davis,
Acting Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

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[2]

114 Fifth Avenue
New York, January 14, 1921.

Sir:

In view of your statement of January 8, 1921, to the Hon. Alton B. Parker, President of the National Civic Federation, concerning relief to Soviet Russia, I take the liberty of supplementing my letter to you of yesterday.

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*See page 16. †See page 17. ‡See page 19.

The inference from your statement would seem to be justified that the State Department would permit the American Relief Administration to bring relief to Soviet Russia provided no obstacles were raised by the Soviet authorities.

It would appear that no such obstacles have been raised, and that no obstacles will be raised.

From my letter of January 11 to Mr. Hoover's organization and from the answer of that organization of January 12 (copies of which I sent you yesterday), it will be seen that the Hoover organization has not made the attempt to establish a *modus vivendi* for large scale relief. It is common knowledge that two of their representatives visited Moscow and brought back favorable reports, but the Hoover organization refrained from seeking to establish a *modus vivendi* with Soviet Russia because of what it believed to be the attitude of our own State Department. The State Department, however, in its turn, bases its attitude upon the reports of American relief organizations, one of which is assuredly the Hoover organization. Thus, the Hoover organization shifts the responsibility to the State Department, and the State Department shifts it to the Hoover organization. Between the two, hundreds of thousands of innocent children in Soviet Russia are deprived of the assistance which the generosity of the American public might bring them.

You declare, further, that the Soviets "can not find in their theory of Communism any excuse for private philanthropy." Whatever be their theory, the fact is, as you yourself point out in your letter to Mr. Parker, that two private philanthropic organizations, namely, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) are operating in Soviet Russia.

Inquiry of the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia would show that their relief supplies have reached Russia safely, that they have been distributed satisfactorily, and that they have had the utmost cooperation from the Soviet authorities. Their workers have been given every opportunity, so I am informed, to visit institutions and homes, to direct that supplies be shipped to these particular homes, and visit these homes afterwards.

Why could not the American Relief Administration make use of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) in Soviet Russia in the same cooperative and helpful way as is being done in Germany and Austria? If the Hoover organization is ready, as they permit you to infer; if the State Department has no objections, as in your letter you declare; if the American Friends Service Committee is ready, as they assuredly are, and if their experience in Soviet Russia thus far has been satisfactory to that humane and responsible organization, what stands in the way of large scale relief for the suffering children in Soviet Russia?

Thanking you for the courtesy of an early reply, if possible before January 18, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Norman H. Davis,
Acting Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure:
Letter to Mr. Hoover Jan. 14. (See page 19.)

[3]

TELEGRAM

January 17, 1921.

Mr. Norman H. Davis,
Acting Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Supplementing my letters of January 13 and 14 concerning relief to Soviet Russia. In letter dated January 14 Mr. Hoover calls my attention "to the fact established by the State Department that so far as the United States is concerned, nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children." Will you please inform me by wire collect if Mr. Hoover's understanding of State Department ruling is correct?

J. L. Magnes
114 Fifth Avenue.

[Received after Philadelphia meeting]

[4]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington

January 20, 1921.

Mr. J. L. Magnes,
114 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Sir:

The Department is in receipt of your letters of January 13 and 14, 1921, enclosing copies of some correspondence between yourself and the American Relief Administration with reference to relief work in Soviet Russia, and also your telegram of January 17, 1921.

The Department has been in consultation with Mr. Hoover and understands that he prefers to carry on his negotiations with the Department directly, and not through a third party.

Although the Department of State does not feel justified in actively encouraging American citizens to enter Soviet territory on relief missions, in view of the fact that the Soviet authorities are holding American citizens who are not charged with crime, as hostages, you will see by reference to my letter to Mr. Parker of January 8th that the Department has given a great deal of thought and attention to the possibility of relief work in Soviet territory. You will find by reference to that letter that the larger American relief organizations, which have considered the extension of their work to territory controlled by the Soviets, have been discouraged by the hostility of the Soviet authorities to private relief.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Norman H. Davis,
Acting Secretary of State.

[Sent after Philadelphia meeting]

[5]

114 Fifth Avenue,
New York, January 21, 1921.

Sir:

I beg to thank you for your letter of January 20 in answer to my letters of January 13 and January 14, 1921, and my telegram of January 17, 1921, with reference to relief work in Soviet Russia. To my great regret, there is no reply to the questions that I have asked.

These questions are:

I. *As to the American Relief Administration:*

(a) When, and under what circumstances did the American Relief Administration meet with rebuffs from the Soviet authorities?

(b) Is it not a fact that two representatives of the American Relief Administration presented a favorable report to the American Relief Administration concerning the need and the possibility of private relief in Soviet Russia?

(c) Is it not a fact that the American Relief Administration has never sought assurances from the Soviet authorities, or proposed the terms to the Soviet authorities upon which it would be willing to engage upon large scale relief work in Soviet Russia?

II. *As to the purchase of American milk with Bolshevik gold:*

Is it a fact, as Mr. Hoover declares, that the State Department has established the fact that "so far as the United States is concerned nothing prevents the Bolshevik Government from devoting their gold to the purchase of American milk for their children?"

III. *As to American citizens held as hostages by the Soviet authorities:*

Would it be possible to publish the names of these hostages to the end that all influences, both private and public, might be brought to bear upon the Soviet authorities to release these American citizens if, as is contended, they are held as hostages and are not charged with crime?

IV. *As to the attitude of the Soviet authorities to the larger American relief organizations:*

Is it not a fact that, in addition to giving assurances of cooperation to the representatives of the American Relief Administration, the Soviet authorities have shown every desire to coöperate, and have actually coöperated, with the American Red Cross Mission to Russia, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee?

I should be sincerely grateful for an answer to these questions because I am convinced that through a clarification of the situation, we should be help-

ing what I assume all of us want, namely, to bring relief to the suffering Russian people without distinction of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. L. Magnes.

Mr. Norman H. Davis,
Acting Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

APPENDIX V

COPIES OF CORRESPONDENCE OF RUSSIAN SOVIET BUREAU

[1]

The Newspaper Enterprise Association
Main Office 1200 West Third Street Cleveland, Ohio
NEA
Editorial Department
CLEVELAND

November 16, 1920.

Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens,
Russian Soviet Government Bureau,
110 West 40th Street,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

In response to a plea contained in the Literary Digest for funds for the American Relief Administration headed by Herbert Hoover, I wrote to the Literary Digest under date of October 30, in one paragraph of my letter as follows:

> "Am I right in inferring from this, that a portion of the funds collected will be used in saving the lives of starving children in Soviet Russia?"

I am today in receipt of a letter signed by George Barr Baker of the American Relief Administration, 42 Broadway, New York City, in which this statement is made:

> "We have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia."

Before communicating further with the American Relief Administration on this subject I should be glad to have any comment that you care to make on the statement made in Mr. Baker's letter that the Soviet Government does not permit the American Relief Administration to go into Soviet Russia for the purpose of feeding the children there. Also, I should like to have your permission to publish your reply if deemed desirable.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) H. B. R. Briggs,
Associate Editor.

[2]

November 18, 1920.

Mr. H. B. R. Briggs,
Associate Editor,
Newspaper Enterprise Association,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of November 16 directing my attention to a statement made by Mr. George Barr Baker of the American Relief Administration to the following effect: "We have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Soviet Russia."

I do not know upon what occasion nor under what circumstances the American Relief Administration has ever applied to the Soviet Government for permission to send relief to Soviet Russia. If such application was made, I have never seen any published account of it, nor has the desire of the American Relief Administration to enter Soviet Russia ever been reported to me either by my Government or by the Relief Administration. Negotiations may have been conducted of which I am unaware. However, the fact remains that the American Relief Administration with its headquarters in this city has never approached me with any expression of its desire or willingness to go into Soviet Russia, a step which would appear to be the natural and appropriate one if such desire or willingness existed.

I have had unofficial information that two workers on the staff of the American Relief Administration visited Moscow within recent months. My information is that these workers were most cordially received and were favorably impressed by their reception. Whether they were empowered on behalf of the Relief Administration to conduct negotiations with a view to relief work in Soviet Russia I do not know.

Knowing the desire of the Soviet Government to use every practical means for relieving the acute needs of the population, I cannot believe that a bona fide offer from the American Relief Administration to send relief to Soviet Russia would be met with anything but a cordial and sympathetic reception by the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government has already manifested its willingness to coöperate with foreign relief organizations, as in the case of the Joint Distribution Committee, and in the case of the American and English Friends Societies. The English Friends have had a representative, Mr. Arthur J. Watts, in Soviet Russia for several months, working with the full coöperation and encouragement of the Soviet authorities. A representative of the American Friends Service Committee, of Philadelphia, Miss Anna J. Haines, is now on her way to Russia for the purposes of distributing relief. Miss Haines has received assurances both from myself and from the central authorities at Moscow that her work will be welcomed.

In view of these circumstances, it is difficult to understand the statement of the American Relief Administration that they have not been allowed by the Soviet Government to go into Russia. I should be interested to know when and to whom the American Relief Administration made application for permission to enter Russia, and if such application was made, what conditions were proposed for the carrying out of this relief work, and what response this application received from the Soviet Government.

If the American Relief Administration desires to use the funds which it is

now collecting, or the stocks which it has on hand, for the relief of starving children in Soviet Russia it may easily do so. There is nothing to prevent the Relief Administration from shipping supplies direct to Soviet Russia. These supplies would be gladly received and fairly distributed by the Soviet Government. If the American Relief Administration desired to inspect the manner of distribution of these supplies or to coöperate in that distribution I am sure that this could be arranged.

While the Soviet Government would gladly receive relief for its suffering population from any disinterested foreign agency, it does not ask for charity in this respect. We ask rather to be allowed to purchase in foreign markets those essential supplies of medicine, soap and other necessities for lack of which men, women and children in Soviet Russia are now suffering. Relief would be welcome; but the suffering would be removed and relief would be unnecessary, if the foreign governments would remove their ruthless blockade against the resumption of normal commerce.

You are at liberty to make any use of this letter you see fit.

Thanking you for the interest you have taken in this matter, I remain,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) L. C. A. K. Martens,
Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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The Literary Digest
Funk & Wagnalls Company
publishers

New York, December 23, 1920.

Dr. J. Wilkinson,
Saint John's Hospital,
Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Dr. Wilkinson:

We have noted your letter of December 20th, and have inquired more particularly regarding the children of Soviet Russia and have received direct from the American Relief Administration the following information which you will be glad to have:

> "It is a mistake to say that the children of Soviet Russia are 'excluded' from the benefits of the American Relief Adminstration and the European Relief Council. The only children who are 'excluded' are the thousands in the very midst of the principal feeding centers who are above normal in weight and who must be excluded in order that those under weight may have the food. Tens of thousands of Russians, who have drifted through the Bolshevik and Polish lines into Poland, are fed every day by these organizations, and the Quakers are in Soviet Russia carrying organized relief to Russian children, and receive their financial support from Mr. Hoover's organization.

Very sincerely yours,

The Literary Digest,"
By M.

APPENDIX VI

HOW THE NORTH-WESTERN GOVERNMENT WAS ORGANIZED

"We, V. D. Kuzmin-Karavayev, A. V. Kartashev, and M. N. Surovov, upon entering upon the execution of our duties as members of the Political Council, were for the first time in Revel from the 7th to the 12th of June. We then succeeded in entering into an agreement with the representatives of the American Relief Commission and to secure, first of all, the direct issuing of flour for the population of the occupied territories, independently of the Esthonian authorities, and secondly, an allocation of flour, bacon, and fats for the provisioning of troops. In regard to money difficulties which confronted us, we had a hope that these difficulties would be removed in the very near future, as a telegram which had just been received from London reported that negotiations for a loan in London of one million pounds sterling in Finnish marks, *i.e.*, about fifty-five million Finnish marks, was successfully concluded.

"This hope, however, only made us waste two weeks of time in expectation and was not justified. But the requirements at the front and in the rear did not allow any kind of delay. Evidence how critical the situation was can be had from the fact that the proposition was made to General Yudenich from the Northern Corps that permission be given to print counterfeit Kerensky notes. This proposal was, of course, refused. Instead of that permission was given to issue exchange certificates, but at first only for a small amount of three million rubles. This was done because General Gough was several times informed about the critical situation in regard to money and we had his replies, from which it was evident that he is making representations to his government with favorable conclusions for the allocation to General Yudenich of a money subsidy in the amount of up to eight million pounds per month.

"The complete lack of money compelled at that time the Northern Corps to resort to the sale of the American flour to the population not at cost, but at a considerable profit. The extreme undesirability of such measure was too evident, but it was impossible to prohibit it. Because in reply came a demand for money, but there was no money. On the first of July the Political Council, together with General Yudenich, left on a French mine layer for Revel. There an estimate was presented to us which showed that it is necessary to have fifty millions of rubles per month for the maintenance of the Northern Corps and of the civil government. We could not have done anything else but accept the estimate for information, and silently approve the sale of the American flour at an increased price and to give permission to print exchange certificates already not for three but for thirty millions. On the 4th of July the Political Council resolved to begin printing in Stockholm of credit notes of the field treasury with the guarantee of payment after the taking of Petrograd, for one billion, two hundred million rubles.

"Of course, only at a future date will it be possible to define and make clear exhaustively all those complicated causes which were responsible for the disorganization of the rear of the North-Western army. But even now it would hardly be erroneous to state that the sale of the American flour at an increased price had a fatal effect. In the war with the Bolsheviks food supplies assure success, probably, in a greater degree than cannon and rifles. During the movement of the Northern Corps forward, the population of the occupied ter-

ritories received the white armies as liberators from terror and hunger. But the military command during a whole month did not have any food at its disposal, and later, when it received food, it began to sell it at a price which was six times greater than the price at which the Esthonian government sold the same American flour through distribution by card, and almost three times higher than the free market price. And, of course, it is evident that it is unnecessary to prove that the Bolshevik propaganda took advantage of this. The attitude of the population to the Whites did not improve but became worse. It became worse still more from association with soldiers who had not received their pay. An atmosphere of dissatisfaction was being created, *i.e.*, that which is in a civil war the most fatal in every sense and in every regard."

(The above statement is translated from a pamphlet issued in Helsingfors in 1920. This pamphlet contains some documents and a signed statement dated September 22, 1919, and signed by V. D. Kuzmin-Karavayev, A. V. Karteshev, who was a member of the Provisional Government under Kerensky and the Procurator of the Holy Synod, and M. N. Suvorov, a General of the old Russian army. All of these men were members of the Political Council with the Commander-in-Chief of the North-Western front (General Yudenich) which Council consisted of five members and was the civilian government for the territories occupied by General Yudenich's armies. The pamphlet is entitled "How the North-Western Government was Organized." The purpose of the pamphlet is not to attack or criticize the American Relief Committee, but is an explanation why these three men who were invited by the British military authorities to join the North-Western government which was organized on August 11, 1919, refused to do so.)

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